EXAMINING THE POTENTIAL FOR INTERCULTURALISM TO IMPROVE INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

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1 Acknowledgments

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2 Abstract

Diversity ideologies have been the subject of much debate, as many nations have experienced unprecedented increases in cultural diversity. Traditional diversity ideologies such as assimilation and multiculturalism have been met with varying challenges. One novel approach being discussed by political philosophers, that has yet to receive much empirical attention, is interculturalism. In the present work, we examined the impact of promoting interculturalism and multiculturalism on minority implicit and explicit attitudes in New Zealand. Participants included 269 non-Asian New Zealand residents who were primed with an ideology of interculturalism, multiculturalism, or neither, in a no-information control condition. Participants then completed outcome measures of explicit and implicit outgroup attitudes. Interculturalism, similar to multiculturalism, significantly increased positive explicit and implicit attitudes towards Asian New Zealanders and increased majority group members' desire for intergroup contact. However, there were not significant differences in the effects of interculturalism and multiculturalism on these outcomes. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that interculturalism is a viable way forward to improve intergroup relations in ethnically diverse countries such as New Zealand.

3 Examining the Potential for Interculturalism to Improve Intergroup Relations in New Zealand

With rising immigration and globalisation, increased cultural diversity has become an inevitable reality for much of the modern world - leaving governments and communities considering how to promote social cohesion amidst the growing cultural diversity (Verkuyten, 2014). Previous research suggests that increases in racial and cultural diversity relate to increases in majority group members' prejudice towards minority groups (Craig & Richeson, 2014). When societies lack an appropriate model for promoting social cohesion, this fear and discrimination can increase. Increased support for right-wing populist leaders like Donald Trump, the vote for 'Brexit', and increased 'radical right' policies across Europe arguably illustrate resistance against immigration – demonstrating that majority groups are struggling with integration of other ethnic groups and retaliate against such movements through enhanced promotion of said right-wing policies and politicians (Guibernau, 2010; Major, Blodorn, & Major Blascovich, in press; Shuster, 2016). Given these increases in diversity, and the increased prejudice alongside it, ideologies and approaches to managing diversity have become increasingly important for social scientists to consider.

However, existing diversity ideologies or approaches to managing diversity are subject of much debate within academia and amongst the general public. Previous models aimed at promoting social cohesion and managing diversity have largely focused on assimilation, colour-blindness, and multiculturalism; however each of these approaches have been found to possess varying challenges (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014; Verkuyten, 2011; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

A new approach has emerged which is yet to undergo much empirical research; this is the strategy of interculturalism, which focuses on the importance of promoting intercultural dialogue, national unity, and engagement with diversity (Cantle, 2012; Meer, & Modood, 2012). Interculturalism has been championed by the Council of Europe, UNESCO, and within neighbourhood initiatives and education programs in several countries (Council of Europe, 2008; UNESCO, 2009). Despite these recent developments, little is known about the nature and impact of interculturalism for social cohesion. Thus, it is a ripe area of research for increasingly diverse countries. The present research contributes to the social scientific literature by examining the costs and benefits of promoting interculturalism on outgroup attitudes.

Past Approaches: Diversity Ideologies

The main approaches to managing diversity have included assimilation, colour-blindness and multiculturalism.

Assimilation.

Assimilation involves minority group members taking on the values and norms of the majority group. Assimilation intended to create a culturally homogenous society by requiring minority group members to disregard aspects of their own cultural identity and adopt the norms, traditions, and values of the majority group (Guimond, de la Sablonniere, & Nugier, 2014). This approach to managing diversity is based on the idea that a culturally homogeneous society with no group differences will have greater social cohesion (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

There are several issues with assimilation as it has been shown to increase majority group dominance and prejudice toward minority groups, especially for higher majority group identifiers (Alba & Nee, 1997; Verkuyten, 2011). Assimilation can also be argued to be based on prejudice, at its crux, as it minimizes, disregards, and devalues the importance of minority cultures relative to the majority culture (Guimond et al., 2014; Hahn, Banchefsky, Park, & Judd, 2015; Whitley, & Webster, 2018). Assimilation also grew out of favour after being deemed as impractical for asking minority groups to give up important aspects of their self-concept (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

Whitley and Webster (2018) provide a recent meta-analysis in which they found that endorsement of assimilation was positively related to ethnic prejudice - effect sizes varied as a function of study category, in that comparisons found that the mean effect size for correlational studies were larger than that for experimental studies. Whitley and Webster (2018) found that assimilation had a strong positive correlation with prejudice, especially for correlational studies.

Colour-blindness.

The goal of colour-blindness is that if individuals and institutions do not even notice race, then they cannot act in a biased manner on that basis of race. Colour-blindness proposes that regardless of race or ethnicity, all people are the same and should not be treated differently or categorised on the basis of race or ethnicity (Guimond et al., 2014).

Two core components of colour-blindness have been established. Firstly, colour-blindness promotes that similarities between groups outweigh superficial differences such as skin colour (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Secondly, colour-blindness focuses on individuality and uniqueness of different people, as opposed to viewing an individual as the group that they are a member of (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). De-emphasising group membership is thus promoted as a means to decrease prejudice. Some theorists promote colour-blindness as a positive diversity model due to its

emphasis on individuality and prevention of letting one's prejudices affect their potential in social, academic and workplace settings (Guimond et al., 2014; Hahn et al., 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008). However, others claim that it is a form of prejudice (Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2000; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren 2009), because it denies racial differences and emphasises sameness, which can be problematic in societies where racism and discrimination exist. This can reduce majority group members' ability to engage in effective intergroup communication as it inhibits ones' ability to acknowledge racial and ethnic discrepancies (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). This can lead to the denial of White privilege, discrimination, symbolic racism, and aversive racism (Chow & Knowles, 2016; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009). Thus, the needs and discrepancies of different races and ethnicities are unseen.

The empirical effects of colour-blindness on intergroup relations have been relatively mixed. For example, some studies show that colour-blindness reduces outgroup prejudice and stereotyping (Levin et al., 2012; Wolsko Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), while others show that its effects are moderated by the context (Correll et al., 2008) and perceivers' ideology (Yogeeswaran, Davies & Sibley, 2017). Overall, the Whitley and Webster (2018) meta-analysis suggests that colour-blindness has a small negative

effect on outgroup prejudice suggesting that it can be useful for reducing negative attitudes toward ethnic minorities.

However, the effect of colour-blindness on other intergroup outcomes paints a less flattering picture on its merits. For example, colour-blindness has been found to promote more negative intergroup interactions (Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008; Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). Colour-blindness has also been shown to predict greater opposition to policies that redress inequalities between majority and minority groups through system justifying beliefs (Yogeeswaran, Verkuyten, Osborne & Sibley, 2018). In workplace settings, some studies have found that when majority group members endorse colour-blindness, minorities within the same organization feel a lower sense of psychological engagement (Plaut et al., 2009). Ignoring race can mean that the different needs, assets, and perspectives of people are disregarded. Whereas creating a more inclusive culture and organization requires paying attention to race, ethnicity, and culture - rather than turning a "blind eye" to these differences.

Multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism was a proposed alternative to assimilation, arguing that ethnic and racial differences should be openly acknowledged and celebrated rather than disregarded and ignored. The approach of Multiculturalism aims to acknowledge and celebrate cultural diversity,

recognising it as an asset to our society (Verkuyten, 2006). Multiculturalism allows distinct cultural groups to maintain their cultural heritage and identity - and encourages all groups to continue to practise their cultural traditions. Multiculturalism acknowledges the importance of each cultural group's contributions to the diversity of the nation, and allows each group to excel at their talents (Meer & Modood, 2012).

The term 'multiculturalism' has come to mean the political accommodation by the state and/or a dominant group of all minority cultures. This refers to the acceptance and accommodation for the race, ethnicity, and religion of minority cultures (Meer & Modood, 2012). The term emerged in Canada and Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, to promote equal citizenship for people of all cultural backgrounds. For Canada, this ideology helped deal with constitutional and land issues, relating to the entitlements of indigenous peoples. For Australia, multiculturalist policy developed as an opposition to assimilation - to better integrate new immigrants (Meer & Modood, 2012).

Multiculturalism has been widely debated and is found to have mixed results. There is evidence for multiculturalism being a promising strategy to promote social cohesion in organisational, educational, and national contexts (Guimond et al., 2014; Plaut et al., 2009). For example, multiculturalism has been found to increase positive intergroup interactions, as well as helping protect minority cultures (Vorauer et al., 2009). It has also been found that

minority group members tend to favour multiculturalism more than majority group members (Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006).

The recent meta analysis by Whitley and Webster (2018) found that multiculturalism had a negative association with explicit prejudice, and that this association was much stronger for correlational than for experimental studies. However, priming participants with multiculturalism concretely resulted in a small increase in explicit prejudice compared to the control prime. Priming multiculturalism abstractly resulted in a very small decrease in implicit prejudice in comparison to the control prime. Whitley and Webster (2018) also found that the relationship between multiculturalism and decreased prejudice was slightly larger than the relationship between colour-blindness and decreased prejudice. Although multiculturalism reduces prejudice when portrayed in abstract terms, when concrete ways of achieving its goals are highlighted the ideology has been shown to increase prejudice toward ethnic minorities (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014; Whitley & Webster, 2018).

Despite the many promises of multiculturalism to promote a harmonious diverse society by emphasising recognition and celebration of diversity, it has faced significant backlash from the majority groups who feel threatened by it (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Yogeeswaran, & Dasgupta, 2014; Deaux, & Verkuyten,

2014). This is particularly apparent for those who identify most strongly with their ethnic group (Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). Majority group members can also oppose multicultural policies because they perceive it as excluding themselves (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011).

Meer and Modood (2012) argue that multicultuarilsm has suffered great political damage, and that the idea of multiculturalism diverging from assimilation and facilitating the remake of public identities in order to achieve equality of citizenship has failed. Multiculturalism has been found to lead to increased outgroup stereotyping (Wolsko et al., 2000), social dominance (Ng Tseung Wong, & Verkuyten, 2017), and exclusion (Plaut et al., 2011). Malik (2007) argues that although multiculturalism protects minority individuals, it fails as a policy to respond to problems of social fragmentation, discrimination, divisions, and exclusions.

Political Theories: The Development of Interculturalism

In light of the limitations of each of the diversity ideologies mentioned above, political theorists and commentators have discussed the notion of interculturalism as an alternative to other strategies for managing diversity. After surveying 47 countries, the Council of Europe deemed multiculturalism to be inadequate, comparing it to the failings of assimilation "differing only in endorsing separation of the minority from the majority rather than assimilation to it" (Council of Europe, 2008, pp. 9-18). The

Council of Europe has adopted interculturalism - celebrating its emphasis on dialogue and unity. Interculturalism has also been adopted as a term by various European countries, Canada (Bouchard, 2011), Latin America (Solano-Campo, 2016), the European Commission (2008), the Quebec government, UNESCO (2009), and in education programs (Catarci & Fiorucci, 2015).

Earlier theories on interculturalism contrast it with multiculturalism, and did not define the two as separate constructs, but rather saw interculturalism as a complementary modification to the pre-existing ideology of multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012; Meer, Modood, & Zapata-Barrero, 2016). However, the two theories differ theoretically and empirically. Where multiculturalism focuses on promoting minority identities and aims to create a more just society (Hahn et al., 2015; Rattan & Ambady, 2013), interculturalism focuses on developing dialogue, interaction, and forging new hybrid identities within the national framework (Cantle, 2012; Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015; Meer et al., 2016). Interculturalism aims at synthesising cultures, as opposed to 'groupist' separation of individual cultures. Interculturalism is therefore more associated with the whole, social cohesion, and national citizenship. Where multiculturalism preserves cultural heritage, and to an extent hierarchy, interculturalism encourages cohesive civil societies by focusing on multiple identities and encourages interdependencies to enable

cultures to have currency, sharing of differences, and for culture to be modified and evolved.

Research has established that interculturalism is comprised of three subcomponents, which are: national unity, identity adaptability, and intercultural dialogue (Zapata-Barrero, 2013; Meer et al., 2016). Interculturalism promotes the importance of interaction and dialogue between different groups, acknowledges multiple identities within a society, and focuses on the unity of these identities. Overall, interculturalism aims to develop connections between different cultures through meaningful contact and interaction. It aims to use open communication and intercultural dialogue to bridge the divides between religious, ethnic and cultural differences. Interculturalism focuses on developing a unified national identity alongside our cultural differences, and it avoids focusing on old cultural traditions, thus allowing us to create new and mixed cultural forms (Meer et al., 2016).

Taylor (2012) discusses the difference between the concepts of interculturalism and multiculturalism as not necessarily separate constructs, but rather the connotations behind the terms are where the differences lie. Multiculturalism involves policies that aim at recognizing differences and integration, however the prefix of ‘multi’ puts emphasis on the first goal (recognizing differences), while the prefix of ‘inter’ in interculturalism

invokes a focus on integration (Taylor, 2012).

As mentioned, multiculturalism has received much backlash in other parts of the world, partly due to the belief that celebration of cultural differences will encourage a retreat into ethnic communities and/or a refusal to accept the political ethics of democracy (Taylor, 2012). This alienation and hostility can come about if immigrants are blocked from opportunities of work, education, and self-expression; whereas if given these opportunities immigrants are often happy to integrate into a society. However, this cycle of hostility often occurs due to the European attack on 'multiculturalism', the misunderstandings that come alongside it, and the segregation and discrimination it elicits from majority groups (Taylor, 2012).

Therefore, focusing on promoting integration and combating discrimination through interculturalism has been shown to help immigrants thrive in a new society, rather than focusing on celebrating cultural differences promoted in multiculturalism, which has received backlash and can make majority and native groups feel threatened and thus contribute to the aforementioned cycle of hostility.

Taylor (2012) lists three main reasons why interculturalism may work better than multiculturalism, especially in Europe: (1) European countries often have long-standing historic identity, which the majority of citizens still

identify with. (2) This identity often centers around a language, which is under pressure to change by larger globalized languages. (3) There consists a fear for the future of its culture and the citizens' ways of life. Taylor (2012) goes on to discuss how a country's historical background can contribute to a backlash against multiculturalism. Countries that have been receiving immigrants for a much shorter amount of time compared to societies of the Western hemisphere may feel threatened by multiculturalism. Thus, to combat this backlash, Taylor (2012) promotes interculturalism as a new way forward.

Recent empirical research has made strides to present how interculturalism and multiculturalism are separate constructs. Verkuyten, Yogeeswaran, Mepham and Sprong (2018) investigated the nature and impact of interculturalism in the Netherlands and USA. Both interculturalism and multiculturalism were found to have independent benefits for decreasing minority group prejudice, increasing willingness to engage in intergroup contact, increasing civic national identity, reducing ethnic national identity, and reducing deprovincialization. Verkuyten, et al. (2018) revealed that interculturalism is independent from multiculturalism, and that interculturalism correlated with reduced outgroup prejudice, reduced ingroup bias, and increased willingness to engage in intergroup contact, over and above the relationship between multiculturalism with each of these.

Verkuyten, et al. (2018) also demonstrated that interculturalism is indeed comprised of three subcomponents including unity, identity adaptability, and dialogue.

In their work, Verkuyten, et al. (2018) also found that majority group members were more welcoming of the idea of interculturalism and showed less backlash toward interculturalism when compared with multiculturalism. Interculturalism was found to have added benefits of reducing outgroup prejudice and increasing willingness to engage in intergroup contact. Having minorities perceived as valuable and central to the national identity helped improve said outcomes for both minority and majority group members. Thus, the approach of interculturalism can help promote the indispensability of minorities and therefore improve intergroup outcomes.

Interculturalism

While political theorists and commentators have discussed the notion of interculturalism and how it differs and complements other ideologies aimed at achieving social cohesion, empirically, little is known about the implications of such an ideology. Yet, several national and international bodies appear to be promoting interculturalism with little data on its costs and benefits. With diversity programs costing billions of dollars each year and empirical data showing that these can often backfire (Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly, 2006), it is

vital that social scientists empirically test the effects of such an approach before governments and policy makers implement it.

As interculturalism is a new area of research, and has already been adopted by aforementioned education programs and agencies, further research is needed to help examine empirical evidence for the risks and benefits of interculturalism – in order to promote of interculturalism as a viable way forward and further differentiate it from the benefits of the current model of multiculturalism (Cantle, 2016; Loobuyck, 2016; Meer et al., 2016; Kymlicka, 2016). The debate has occurred in a political philosophy setting, so added research with a social psychology perspective can help support and endorse this potentially beneficial ideology.

Verkuyten, et al. (2018) recently demonstrated some of the implications of interculturalism for outgroup attitudes and intentions. However, this work utilized national samples to test the correlates of such an ideology without examining the causal impact of promoting such an ideology on intergroup relations. More recently, other work in our lab (Yogeeswaran & Verkuyten, 2018) examined the causal impact of promoting interculturalism on outgroup attitudes and desire for intergroup contact in the USA and Netherlands. This work suggested that priming White Americans with interculturalism significantly reduced prejudice toward ethnic minorities and

increased desire for intergroup contact over and above priming multiculturalism and an unrelated control condition (multiculturalism was also found to be significantly better than the control condition). The current thesis adds to this recent work by examining the consequences of interculturalism (and multiculturalism) for implicit and explicit outgroup attitudes in a different ethnically diverse nation (New Zealand).

Context of the Present Research

Although Taylor (2012) focuses on a European context, it helps illustrate how many ethnically diverse countries could benefit from interculturalism. New Zealand is experiencing increases in ethnic diversity. Large waves of immigrants from the Pacific Islands, Asia, and elsewhere in the world only began in the 1980s in New Zealand (Sibley & Ward, 2013) making the nation similar in some regards to other European nations discussing how to promote positive social relations with a newly diverse populace.

New Zealand ethnicity is self-defined and people are able to identify with multiple ethnicities (Stats NZ, 2013). The European ethnic group was New Zealand's largest major ethnic group - as 74.0 percent identified with one or more European ethnicities (Stats NZ, 2013). In the 2013 census, other major ethnic groups increased in size compared to the 2006 census data: 14.9

percent (up from 14.6 percent) of the population identified as Maori; 11.8 percent of the population (up from 9.2 percent); identified as Asian; 7.4 percent of the population (up from 6.9 percent) identified as Pacific Islanders; and 1.2 percent (up from 0.9 percent) identified Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African. Overall, the Middle Eastern, Latin American, African, and Asian ethnic groups increased by more than 30 percent between the 2006 and 2013 Censuses (Stats NZ, 2013).

The population of those ascribing to one or more Asian ethnic groups almost doubled from 2001 to the 2013 census. Each year more New Zealanders move out of New Zealand, and more immigrants move into New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2013, 2016). The biggest diversity increase occurred in the Auckland region, where approximately 1 in 4 citizens of Auckland identified with one or more Asian ethnic groups in the 2013 census. In looking at the 2001, 2006, and 2013 Censuses, New Zealand experienced increases in the number of citizens identifying with one or more Asian ethnic groups (Stats NZ, 2013).

Clearly, New Zealand is developing into a more diverse society. New Zealand presents an increasingly diverse population, with the most recent census indicating that diversity in New Zealand is on the rise. Sibley and Ward (2013) estimated projection of population in the direction it is heading.

They estimated a decrease in the proportion of Europeans and a projected increase of Asians by 95% between 2006 and 2026 (Sibley & Ward, 2013).

New Zealand is officially a bicultural country, although it reflects many constructs of multiculturalism (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006; Sibley & Ward, 2013). New Zealanders have been found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants and endorse the ideology of multiculturalism more than Australians and European Union citizens (Ward & Masgoret 2008).

New Zealand's increase in diversity makes it an ideal environment to test the potential of interculturalism as a new approach to managing diversity. The increasing Asian population, illustrated by Stats NZ (2013), suggests that it may be especially suitable to examine New Zealander's attitudes, opinions, and behaviour towards Asians as the focus target group for the current study.

Implicit and Explicit Bias

Implicit and explicit biases operate differently. While explicit biases capture people's conscious or deliberate thoughts or feelings about a group, implicit biases refer to automatic and relatively non-conscious thoughts or feelings that occur without conscious control (Payne, Vuletich & Kristjen,

2017; Yogeeswaran, Devos, & Nash, 2016). As research has established that prejudice and stereotyping can sometimes occur at a subconscious level, in that even those who claim egalitarian values can express conflicting responses through implicit measures (Cameron, Brown- Iannuzzi, & Payne, 2012), it is important to look at these measures alongside explicit measures when looking at the effects of diversity ideologies on people's thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours towards minority groups.

Measures of implicit bias and explicit bias can present contradictory and conflicting results within the same study (Nosek, 2005; Nosek & Hansen, 2008; Nosek et al., 2007). This is because implicit bias occurs outside of one's conscious control (Gawronski, Hofmann, & Wilbur, 2006; Payne et al., 2017). Where explicit bias can be consciously altered, implicit bias cannot. Participants cannot deliberately alter their implicit thoughts and responses. Therefore, attaining measures outside of one's conscious control - through measures such as the IAT - can gather a more accurate measure of one's bias, opinions, and attitudes than the potentially controlled responses of explicit bias.

Implicit bias is commonly examined in social psychology in regards to gathering insight on racial bias (Hahn, Judd, Hirsh, & Blair, 2014; Cameron, et al., 2012; Nosek, 2005; Nosek & Hansen, 2008; Nosek & et al., 2007) and

also predicts behaviours sometimes even better than explicit (Payne, 2008). Implicit attitudes towards African Americans and gay men predicted unfriendly nonverbal communication - such as lack of eye contact, body language, smiling, comfort, and friendliness better than measures of explicit bias (Yogeeswaran et al., 2016; Amodio & Devine, 2006; McConnell & Leibold 2001; Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006).

Implicit bias is important to study as it can predict important outcomes such as voting decisions (Devos & Ma, 2013; Greenwald, et al., 2009), job hiring (Yogeeswaran et al., 2016; Rooth, 2010), medical decisions (Green et al., 2007), and Economic decisions (Stanley, Sokol-Hessner, Banaji, & Phelps, 2011). Overall, it is evident that implicit bias is important and can influence attitudes, behaviours and decisions in a variety of ways. Therefore, the current study implements both measures of explicit and implicit bias.

Current Research

The current research primed participants with an ideology of interculturalism, multiculturalism, or no prime in the control condition. Participants then completed outcome measures of implicit and explicit outgroup attitudes using a reaction-time task to measure implicit intergroup attitudes, and a self-report measure of explicit intergroup attitudes, respectively.

The present work expands on previous work by looking at both implicit and explicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes help to investigate whether being primed with the ideologies impacts explicit bias towards the minority group. Participants completed a series of feeling thermometers (Converse & Presser, 1986) assessing their explicit attitudes toward Asian New Zealanders, based on the previous research of Verkuyten et al., (2018). However, prejudice and stereotyping often operate outside of conscious control or awareness (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Therefore, implicit measures allows for access to attitudes that are outside conscious control and not subject to social norms. Participants completed an IAT examining implicit attitudes toward Asians relative to Europeans.

As both multiculturalism and interculturalism have been shown to have some positive effects on majority group members' attitudes and opinions toward outgroup members (Guimond et al., 2014; Vorauer et al., 2009; Verkuyten et al., 2018), it was hypothesized that, compared to the control group, the groups primed by multiculturalism and interculturalism would both present less implicit prejudice toward minority groups as well as more positive explicit out-group attitudes and opinions. As interculturalism has been theorized to improve upon multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012), and based on the findings of Verkuyten, et al. (2018) and Yogeeswaran and

Verkuyten (2018), those in the interculturalism condition are further expected to show even more improved intergroup outcomes compared to those in the multiculturalism condition.

4 Research Design and Methods

Participants

A total of 307 participants were recruited from the University of Canterbury participant pool and through advertisements around Christchurch. As the target outgroup for the study was Asian New Zealanders, we excluded participants who self-reported Asian ethnicity - leaving a sample of 269 participants, including 80 males and 189 females. Of these participants, 232 were European New Zealanders, while the remaining were Maori (3), Pacific Islanders (7), Middle Eastern (2), African (1), South American (2), a mixture or other (22). Ages ranged from 17 to 54 with the mean age of 18.

Based on recent guidelines for required sample sizes for experimental research (Simonsohn, Nelson, & Simmons, 2014) as well as previous research on the topic (Verkuyten, 2011; Vorauer et al., 2009; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014), we aimed to have at least 50 participants per condition, with a goal of closer to 100 to ensure sufficient power. This study had approximately 88 participants per condition, once Asian participants were culled for analysis. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions: multiculturalism, interculturalism, or control condition - before completing measures of implicit and explicit attitudes (details below).

Manipulation

As mentioned, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: multiculturalism, interculturalism, and control. In the interculturalism and multiculturalism conditions, participants were primed with either of the diversity ideologies using an audio-visual clip describing (through dialogue and pictorial representation) the desired prime and later on text and a picture (diagram) of the same. The latter was identical to previous work (Yogeeswaran & Verkuyten, 2018), while the audio-visual clip was newly created after pilot testing for the study.

Appendix A. presents two screenshots and the dialogue from the multiculturalism video prime created for the study. Video content was based on text from earlier work in the USA and Netherlands (Yogeeswaran & Verkuyten, 2018). The video would present visual examples of what the ideology would look like, with a narrator describing the ideology overtop of the moving images. Multiculturalism video presented how it promotes respect of traditional differences, celebrating cultural diversity, acknowledging unique group identities and maintaining cultural heritage (Narrator: "Each group needs to be able to maintain and celebrate its own heritage culture, this way the value of cultural diversity for a cohesive and successful society can continue to exist.")

Appendix B. presents two screenshots and the dialogue from the interculturalism video prime created for the study. Video content was based on text from earlier work (Yogeeswaran & Verkuyten, 2018). Again, the video would present visual examples of what the ideology would look like, with a narrator describing the ideology overtop of the moving images. In the condition receiving the interculturalism prime-video had images promoting interculturalism focus on open interaction, developing connections, and building as a nation through new ideas and intercultural dialogue (Narrator: "Each group needs to be self-critical and open to change. This way, different cultural groups can influence and adapt to each other and dialogue between cultural groups can be mutually beneficial. This will lead to the development of a cohesive society.").

Those in the control condition did not receive a video or picture prime, they completed all demographic and dependent measures as well as post experimental questions. Their participant experience was identical to the other conditions sans the video and pictures received by the other conditions. This is similar to previous experimental work on the topic (e.g., Morrison et al., 2010; Todd, Bodenhausen & Galinsky, 2012; Vorauer et al., 2009; Wolsko et al., 2000).

Measures

Background Measures

Demographics. Participants first completed a brief demographic questionnaire assessing their age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and year at university. (Appendix C).

Dependent Measures.

Outgroup Attitudes. After being primed with the audio-visual clip of the respective ideology group, participants completed a series of semantic differentials (Appendix D. Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Converse & Presser, 1986) assessing their attitudes toward a variety of groups including Asians, the elderly, European New Zealanders, and politicians in New Zealand (items not corresponding to New Zealand ethnic groups were included as distracters). The semantic differential measure (Osgood et al., 1957) is a fairly standard measure of explicit attitudes used in prejudice research (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Two items asked participants to indicate how they felt about the following groups in society with the statements and anchors: "I find them…" (1 = Very Unlikeable; 7 = Very Likeable) and "I feel…" (1 = Very Negative; 7 = Very Positive). These ratings were averaged to form a single index of outgroup

attitudes (α = .93). Similarly, ratings of European New Zealanders were collapsed into a single index (α = .92) and a difference score was calculated between ratings of Asians relative to European New Zealanders to get an index of Explicit Intergroup Attitudes such that larger positive numbers would indicate more favouritism toward Asians relative to Europeans, while more negative numbers would indicate more preference for Europeans relative to Asians.

Willingness to engage in intergroup contact. Participants also completed a series of Likert-scale items assessing their willingness to engage in intergroup contact with Asian New Zealanders (Appendix E. Verkuyten, et al., 2018; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). These questioned looked at the extent participants were willing to accept an outgroup member as a family member, neighbour, a friend, a romantic partner, or attend a cultural event organized by an Asian organization. These items were on 7-point scales where 1 = not at all willing and 7 = extremely willing. These items showed high internal consistency and were collapsed to form a single index for willingness to engage in intergroup contact (α = .90)

Implicit Attitudes. Implicit attitudes were also measured using the IAT (Appendix F. Implicit Association Test; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998). Participants here completed an IAT examining attitudes toward Asians

relative to Europeans. The IAT therefore comprised of pictures of Asian and White faces which participants were asked to categorise alongside positive and negative words (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Intergroup Trust and Cooperation. Participants completed a measure of intergroup cooperation and trust using the Trust Game (Berg, Dickhaut, & McCabe, 1995). As this measure was created into a video game and has yet to undergo validation, the results have yet to be analyzed and were not included in this thesis. In this game, participants engaged in a simulation with a perceived partner who they were led to believe was in a nearby room. Participants had the opportunity to win up to $10 on the game. The simulation involved two players, termed First Mover (actual participant) and Second Mover (a computer simulation used to represent either someone Asian or European). Participants played this game on the computer and were lead to believe that they were playing with real participants in neighboring rooms. Appendix G. shows a screen shot of the instructions participants would see before playing the game, demonstrating how the game works.

Appendix H. shows how the First Mover initially got to choose how much of the money they give to the corresponding 'player' (Second Mover). They had the option of sending $0.50c, $1.00, $1.50, or $2.00. The amount sent to the other 'player' (Second Mover) is tripled. Then, the Second Mover

'decides' how much of that money to return (This 'decision' was a programmed amount depending to how much money the First Mover choses to send to the Second Mover). Participants each played 4 rounds of this game, with people they believe to be Asian or European (order was randomized between-subjects). This game represents a popular measure of trust and cooperation in the literature (Smith, 2013; Smith, 2014; McCabe, Rigdon, & Smith, 2003).

Procedure

Participants were recruited under the guise that the study was about attention and perception, to avoid participant response bias. Participants were placed at one of four computers where they were initially asked to complete a demographics survey. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the three conditions. Those in the multiculturalism and interculturalism conditions watched a video comprising of text and audio about the manipulation of their respective condition. Those within the control group were not given a video to watch.

Participants then completed measures of explicit attitudes, followed by a picture version of the respective video primes for those in the multiculturalism and interculturalism condition. Implicit attitudes were measured using the IAT. The implicit attitude measure was counterbalanced

between-subjects. Participants then engaged in a virtual intergroup interaction afterwards (the trust game). Afterwards, participants were debriefed as to the true nature of the study.

5 Results

The General Linear Model was used to examine mean differences between the experimental conditions and control. The measures of Outgroup Attitudes, Willingness to Engage in Intergroup Contact, and the IAT all met the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance - as there were no issues with skew or kurtosis. Outliers in the IAT responses that indicated particularly slow (if subjects had < 300ms latencies on 10% or more of the trials) were discarded as well as those that had too many errors (errors on more than 20% of all trials) based on the IAT algorithm proposed by Greenwald, Banaji, and Nosek (2003).

Outgroup Attitudes. Explicit bias was measured by looking at Outgroup Attitudes. As mentioned, participants completed a series of likert scales and feeling thermometers assessing their attitudes toward a variety of groups. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of diversity ideology on mean differences in participants' attitudes toward Asian New Zealanders $F(2,\ 263) = 9.78, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .04$. In line with the hypothesis, results revealed that explicit bias was significantly reduced for those in the interculturalism condition ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.46$) compared to the control ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 1.54$), $t(264) = -2.34$, $p = .02$. The multiculturalism condition ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.41$) compared to the control also revealed that those in the

multiculturalism condition expressed significantly reduced explicit bias $t(264) = 2.83$, $p < .005$.

Contrary to the second hypothesis, interculturalism and multiculturalism primes were not significantly different from each other in reducing explicit bias towards minority groups $t(264) = -.43$, $p = .67$. Figure 1 illustrates that priming majority group members with the ideologies of interculturalism or multiculturalism can significantly reduce explicit bias towards minority group members.

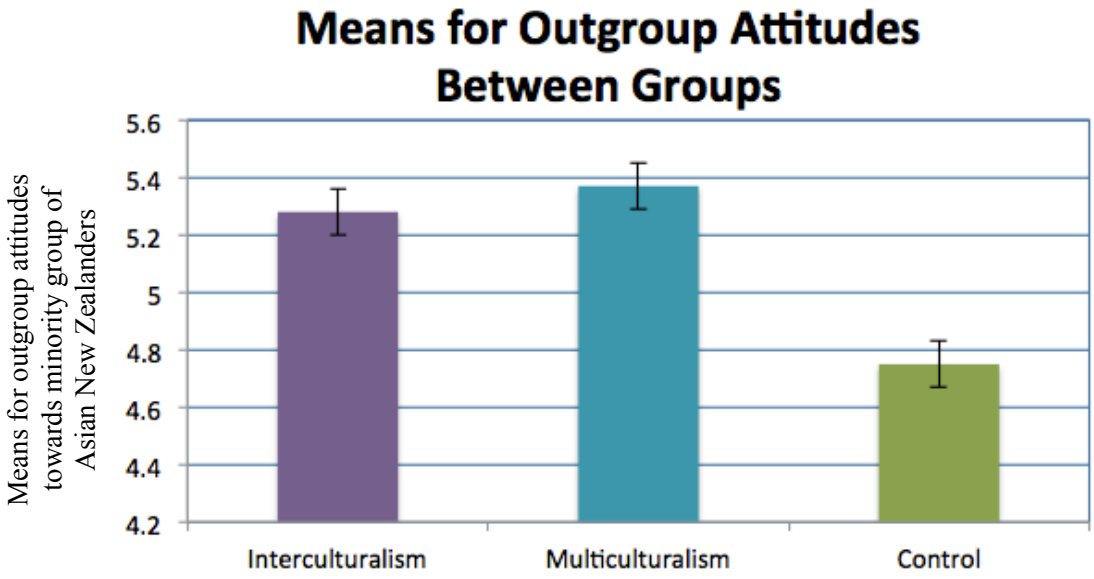

Figure 1. Means for the explicit outgroup attitudes between groups reported by participants

As mentioned, a difference score was calculated between ratings of Asians relative to European New Zealanders to get an index of Explicit Intergroup Attitudes - such that larger positive numbers would indicate more favouritism toward Asians relative to Europeans, while more negative numbers would indicate more preference for Europeans relative to Asians.

A one-way ANOVA again revealed a significant effect of diversity ideology on the difference score between ratings of Asians relative to European New Zealanders $F(2, 263) = 5.47$, $p < .005$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. In line with the hypothesis, results revealed that negative explicit intergroup attitudes towards Asians, relative to Europeans, were significantly decreased for those in the interculturalism condition ($M = -.49$, $SD = 1.42$), compared to the control ($M = -1.11$, $SD = 1.54$) $t(264) = -2.75$, $p = .01$. The multiculturalism condition ($M = -.52$, $SD = 1.17$) compared to the control also revealed that those in the multiculturalism condition expressed significantly decreased negative explicit intergroup attitudes towards Asians, relative to Europeans, $t(264) = 2.83$, $p < .005$.

Contrary to the second hypothesis, interculturalism and multiculturalism primes were not significantly different from each other in decreasing negative explicit intergroup attitudes towards Asians, relative to Europeans, $t(264) = .12$, $p = .91$.

Figure 2 demonstrates an opposite trend to Figure 1, showing shorter bars for the interculturalism and multiculturalism conditions compared to the control group, and a negative direction of the bars. This is because the graph is depicting a measure of difference scores as an index of Explicit Intergroup Attitudes – in which larger bars indicate larger negative numbers – which is reflective of greater preference for Europeans relative to Asians. Therefore, Figure 2 illustrates that priming majority group members with the ideologies of interculturalism or multiculturalism related to significantly decrease negative explicit intergroup attitudes towards Asians.

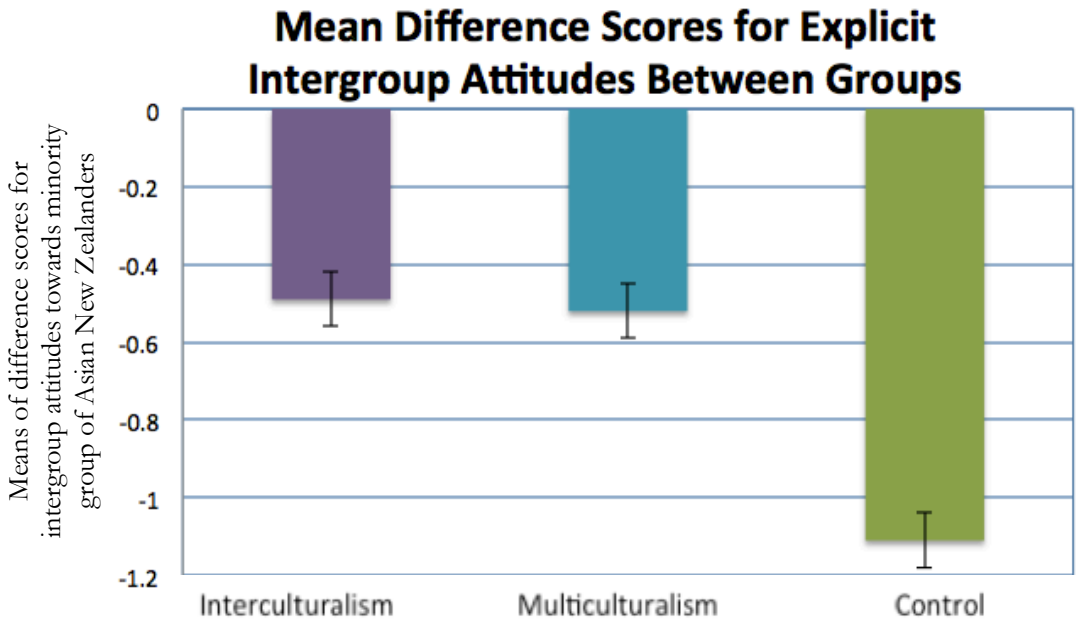

Figure 2. Difference scores as an index of Explicit Intergroup Attitudes - larger positive numbers indicate more favouritism toward Asians relative to Europeans and larger negative numbers would indicate more preference for Europeans relative to Asians.

Willingness to engage in intergroup contact. Participants' desire for contact with Asians was also examined. A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of diversity ideology on mean differences in participants' willingness to engage in intergroup contact. Results found that the desire for contact with Asians increased when the primes of interculturalism and multiculturalism were salient, compared to those in the control condition, $F(2, 263) = 4.46$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_{p=}.08$.

In line with the hypothesis, interculturalism ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 1.00$) significantly increases desire for contact with minority group members, compared to the control ($M = 5.48$, $SD = 1.55$) $t(264) = -3.95$, $p < .01$. The multiculturalism condition ($M = 6.11$, $SD = 1.12$) also increased desire for contact with minority group members compared to the control $t(264) = 3.05$, $p < .01$. Contrary to the second hypothesis, interculturalism and multiculturalism primes were not significantly different from each other in increasing desire for contact with minority groups $t(264) = .98$, $p < .33$. Figure 3 presents these findings.

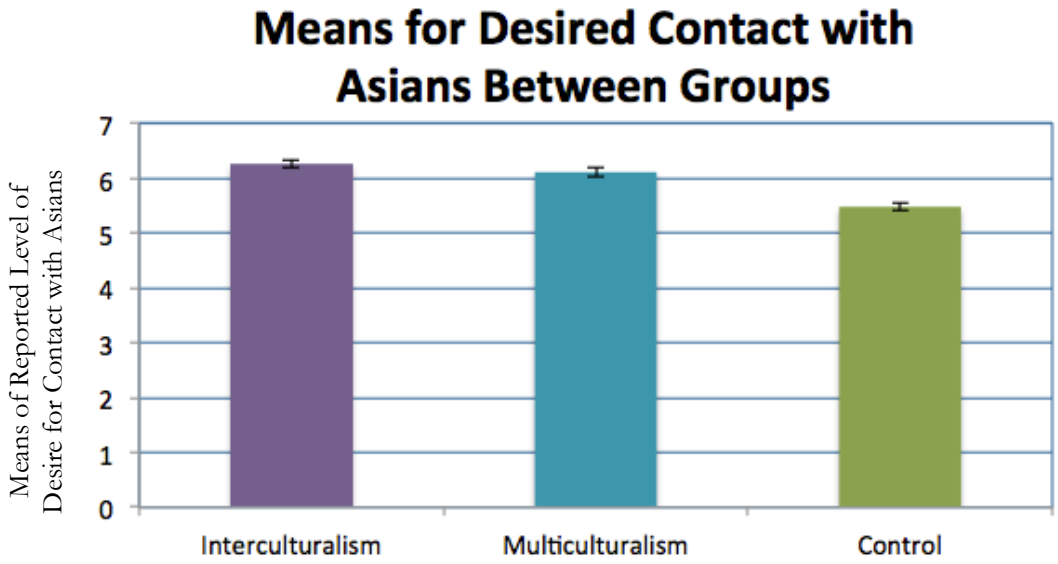

Figure 3. Means for the explicit measure of desire for contact with Asians between groups reported by participants

Implicit Attitudes. The IAT data was analysed following the algorithm for IAT D calculation provided by Greenwald, et al. (2003). Greenwald, et al. (2003) indicate that the best-performing measure incorporates data from the IAT's practice trials, uses a metric that is calibrated by each respondent's latency variability, and includes a latency penalty for errors. The IAT effect (D score) has a range of -2 to +2. The determined small (.15), moderate (.35), and strong (.65) effect sizes by Greenwald, et al. (2003) indicate that the current findings present medium-strong effect sizes for negative implicit attitudes toward Asians relative to Europeans.

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of diversity

ideology on mean differences in participants' implicit attitudes toward Asians, $F(2, 262) = 3.19$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2_p = .03$**.** In line with the hypothesis, these results suggest that being primed with these models helps reduce implicit bias towards Asians. It was found that the interculturalism condition ($M = .35$, $SD = .52$) was significantly different from the control group (M = .52, $SD = .52$) $t(264) = 2.13$, $p < .03$, indicating reduced implicit bias towards Asians. Multiculturalism ($M = .37$, $SD = .39$) was also significantly different from the control group $t(264) = -2.14$, $p < .03$, indicating reduced implicit bias towards Asians. Once again, contrary to the second hypothesis, interculturalism and multiculturalism primes were not significantly different from each other $t(264) = -.26$, $p = .79$.

Figure 4 demonstrates an opposite trend to Figure 1, and 3, showing shorter bars for the interculturalism and multiculturalism conditions compared to the control group. This is because the graph is depicting a measure of strengths of automatic associations between Asians and negativity + Europeans and positivity, relative to Asians and positivity + Europeans and negativity. In other words, higher scores on the graph indicate greater implicit bias towards Asians relative to Europeans.

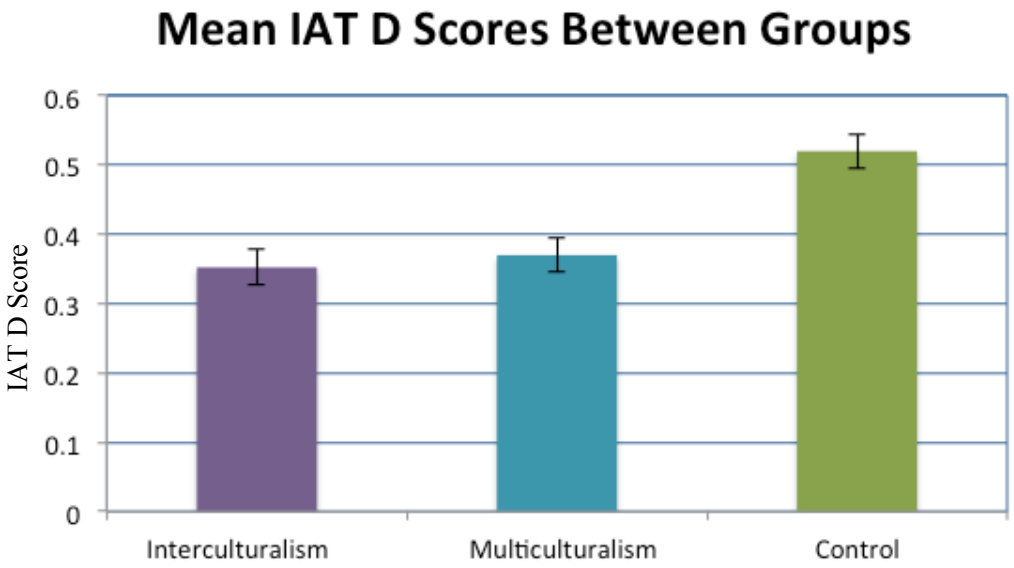

Figure 4. Mean IAT D scores as a measure of implicit bias between groups; IAT D calculation provided by Greenwald, et al. (2003).

Results demonstrate the positive implications of interculturalism in regards to both implicit and explicit attitudes towards minority groups. Interculturalism and multiculturalism both provide significant results when compared with the control group.

The overall effects of the manipulation on explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes and intergroup cooperation in the game were examined. Overall, the results found that interculturalism, similar to multiculturalism, was significant in reducing implicit and explicit bias towards minority groups.

6 Discussion

Results revealed that priming with the ideology of interculturalism resulted in participants presenting more positive explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes, and more willingness to engage in intergroup contact with Asians.

Interculturalism has been discussed widely, adopted enthusiastically, and promoted as an alternative to previous ideologies despite lacking empirical evidence for its risks and benefits towards minority and majority groups (Council of Europe, 2008; UNESCO, 2009; Cantle, 2012; Cantle 2016; Meer, & Modood, 2012; Meer et al., 2016). Recent Social psychology research, including this current thesis, are beginning to lay the empirical groundwork for interculturalism as a viable way forward to promote social cohesion in ethnically diverse countries (Verkuyten et al., 2018).

The findings in this New Zealand context help demonstrate that interculturalism has positive implications for majority group member's implicit and explicit attitudes towards minority group members. This study found that similar to multiculturalism, interculturalism helps reduce intergroup conflict, increase positive attitudes towards minority groups, and increase willingness for contact with outgroup members. Furthermore, implicit attitudes were also examined and both interculturalism and multiculturalism significantly reduced bias towards the minority group of Asian New Zealanders. These findings are a promising result for an early empirical

investigation the new diversity ideology of interculturalism, and are consistent with the aforementioned theorized positive effects of this ideology (Cantle, 2012; Cantle, 2016; Meer, & Modood, 2012; Meer et al., 2016) and the recent findings of complementary empirical research (Verkuyten et al., 2018).

Previous research has helped to distinguish interculturalism from multiculturalism, with interculturalism providing independent and significantly improved benefits compared to multiculturalism (Verkuyten et al., 2018). Unlike these findings, this study's current results were not significantly different between the interculturalism and multiculturalism conditions. The paucity of significant difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism conflicts with previous literature - where interculturalism is promoted as an "update" from multiculturalism (Lentin, 2005; Taylor, Bodenhausen, & Galinsky, 2012). These findings are also inconsistent with recent findings in which interculturalism was found to have positive implications above and beyond those of multiculturalism (Verkuyten et al., 2018).

Limitations and Future Directions

A consideration, which may have contributed to these inconsistencies, is that there currently only exists data from one study in one country (Verkuyten et al., 2018), limiting the ability to make generalised claims

about this research. It is currently uncertain as to whether these findings are specific to New Zealand, or if future studies will portray results which empirically differentiate interculturalism from multiculturalism.

As mentioned, results from The Trust Game have yet to be analyzed. These results could be beneficial to investigate in future research once the measures are validated. This, along with future work, could look into the behavioural outcomes of priming participants with the ideology of interculturalism. This will help give a measure of trust and cooperation with minority groups – and may provide differences between the outcomes of interculturalism and multiculturalism.

These current findings still indicate that interculturalism is an additional, complementary strategy and/or alternative to multiculturalism in the attempt to create positive intergroup relations in ethnically diverse nations. Previous research also discussed the potential for interculturalism to be seen as complementary to multiculturalism – rather than viewing the two as competing and separate ideologies (Verkuyten et al., 2018). Multiculturalism celebrates ethnic, racial, and spiritual identities and is thus relevant and considerate to many minority group members. However, interculturalism may help to increase outgroup support for multicultural traditions - due to the emphasis of increased interaction with outgroup members. As multiculturalism has faced some backlash by groups who feel threatened by it, interculturalism

can help alleviate these anxieties and continue to promote positive intergroup relations. Thus, future research could delve into the positive benefits of interculturalism and multiculturalism as complementary to each other.

It is important to note that this study presented multiculturalism and interculturalism in relatively abstract terms when priming the participants. Whitley and Webster (2018) demonstrate that priming multiculturalism concretely as opposed to abstractly resulted in increases in explicit outgroup prejudice. Presenting multiculturalism in more concrete terms has also been found to produce a negative backlash from majority group members (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Future research could investigate whether presenting interculturalism in more concrete terms results in less detrimental effects for intergroup relations than concrete multiculturalism, thereby providing policy-makers with a promising new approach to implement diversity strategies. As multiculturalism's negative backlash has been attributed to majority groups feeling threatened and contributed to feelings of exclusion (Plaut et al., 2011; Morrison et al., 2010; Yogeeswaran, & Dasgupta, 2014; Deaux, & Verkuyten, 2014), interculturalism may pan out differently and avoid this backlash, even when presented in concrete terms. This is a plausible theory as interculturalism promotes intergroup dialogue, national unity, and the creation of new hybrid identities which may not be as contested among the majority in concrete practice. Future research could

therefore help present significant differences between the outcomes of interculturalism and multiculturalism.

Future research can also help tackle some of the limitations of previous work. As this experiment was all done in a lab, it would be interesting to see how interculturalism could prime people in more natural settings – such as looking at intergroup interactions in daily life. This would help to investigate whether the effects of interculturalism generalise into other settings – thus looking into the external validity of current research on interculturalism. A laboratory setting is very controlled and contrasts greatly with the real world. This allows for objective, experimental results to be analysed, but research looking into more natural real world settings is an important next step within this area.

Another consideration is that it would be worthwhile for future research to investigate the effects of mediators, processes, and moderators underlying these outcomes of interculturalism and multiculturalism. While the present work suggests that both interculturalism and multiculturalism have the potential to reduce intergroup prejudice in New Zealand, it may be that these have an effect through very different psychological processes - and future work would greatly benefit from investigating underlying processes and mediators. It would also be worthwhile looking at the moderating effect of measures such as political ideology and social identification (Pratto et al.,

1994; Postmes, Haslam & Jans, 2013). As this study contributes to the early research on interculturalism and its potential for promoting positive intergroup relations, the underlying and potential mediating and moderating variables were not the focus of this research. Understanding these underlying processes of both interculturalism and multiculturalism is clearly an important direction for future research.

It would also be important for future research to look into the longevity of these results and the long-term impact of interculturalism. While this study investigates the effects of interculturalism after directly priming participants, it does not give an indication as to whether the ideology has any long-term effects. Future research could look into the longevity of priming participants with interculturalism through repeated exposure to such an ideology via media or organisational narratives to test whether such exposure at varying time points provides long-lasting benefits for intergroup relations.

Current literature also lacks empirical research in regards to the implications of interculturalism on minority group member's self-conceptions - such as minority well-being and self-esteem. Majority group members have been the focus of most research, with minority members serving as the outgroup in many studies. A more comprehensive study, with a larger sample size, could provide insight into both minority and majority group perspectives, looking at the impact interculturalism has on both minority and majority group

members' attitudes and opinions towards outgroup members, as well as the implications of interculturalism for minority and majority group member's self-conceptions. Previous research has indicated that multiculturalism was more favourable for minority groups compared to majority groups (Verkuyten, 2005; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). It would be interesting to see if interculturalism follows a similar trend, or if interculturalism will be mutually beneficial for both majority and minority groups.

Conclusion

This research is important in the field of social psychology and political philosophy, as our increasingly globalised world requires ever-growing analysis in regards to the promotion and sustenance of social cohesion. Increased globalization, continuing immigration, the refugee crisis, and repeated terrorist attacks, all promote the importance of this timely and relevant research.

Overall, this research helps contribute to the growing literature of interculturalism as a viable means for promoting intergroup relations. Results show that interculturalism serves as a promising strategy for intergroup relations in ethnically diversity nations. This empirical research helps contribute to social psychology and provide a basis for future research. Future research can help benefit our knowledge and understanding of different

diversity ideologies and their effects, risks, and benefits for both majority and minority group members.

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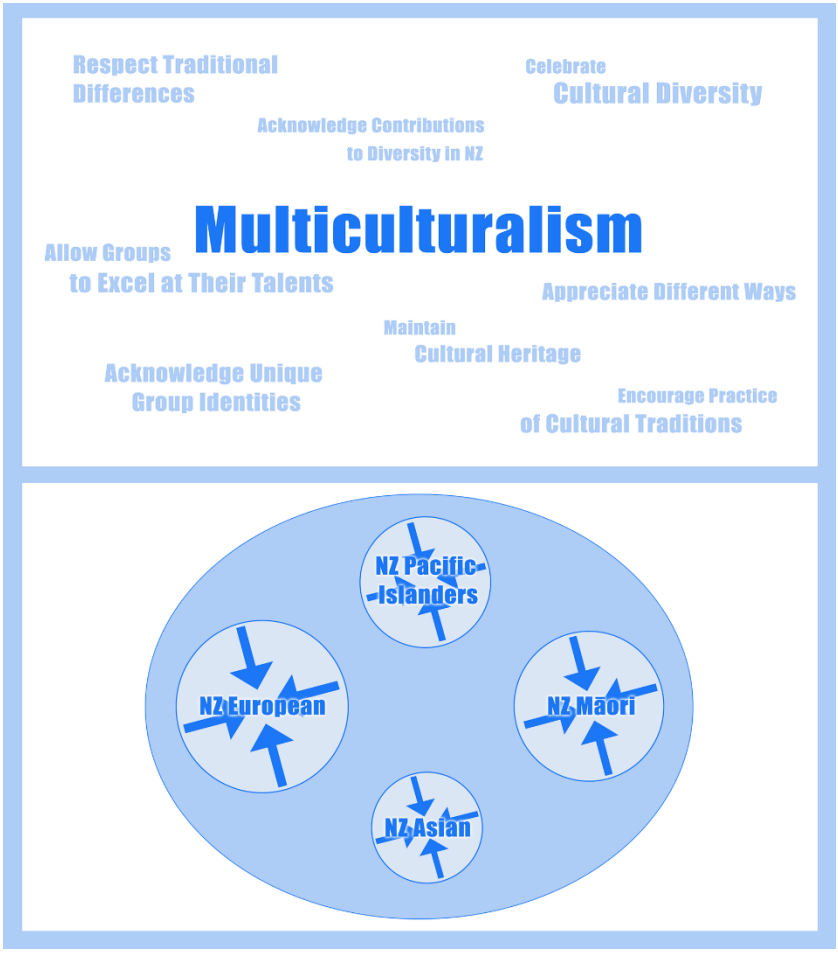
8 Appendix

Appendix A. Two screenshots, and the audio, from the multiculturalism video prime created for the study. Video content was based on text from earlier work (Verkuyten et al., 2018).



Dialogue for Interculturalism Prime Video:

"Social scientists agree that building positive relationships between different ethnic groups is a major priority in New Zealand. Social Scientists all agree that a key strategy to managing interethnic relations is through interculturalism.

To allow for peaceful relationships between diverse groups in our country, interculturalism recommends that we:

- Develop connections between different cultures through meaningful contact and interactions

- Use intercultural dialogue to bridge any divides created by ethnic, religious and cultural differences

- Focus on how different cultures have influenced each other historically and in present day to build the country we now live in.

- Ensure open communication between majority and minority cultural groups

- Focus on developing a unified national identity alongside our cultural differences

-Promote the feeling that we are all one nation and that we build that nation together

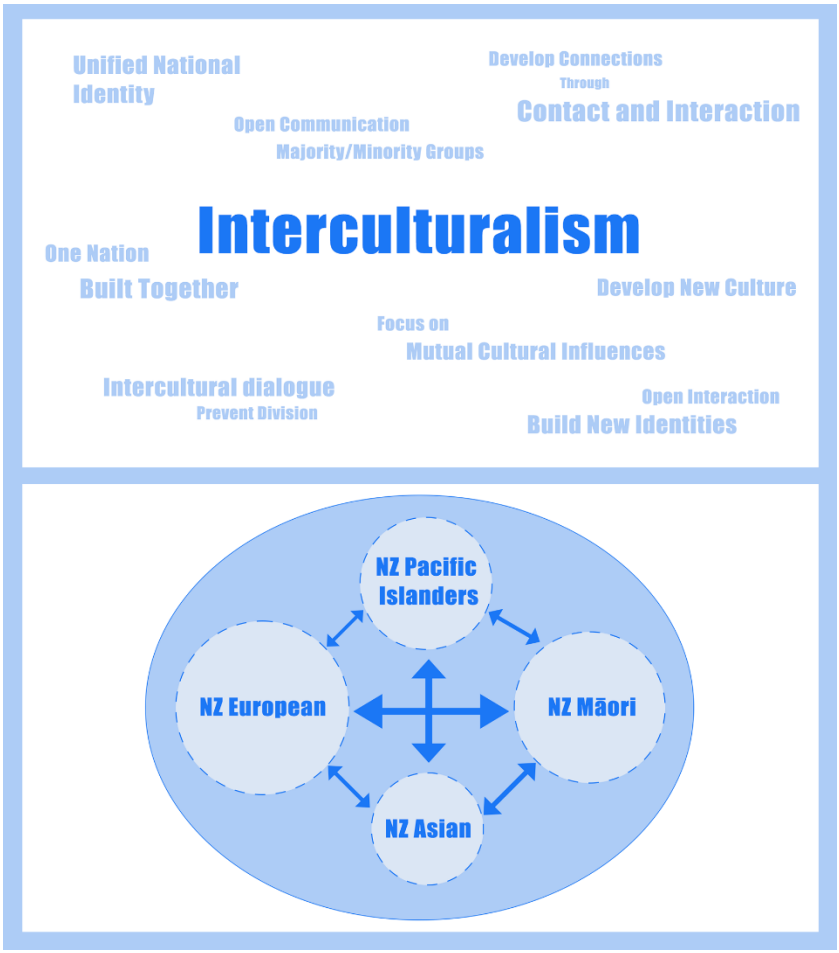
-Avoid focusing only on old cultural traditions, allowing us to develop new and mixed cultural forms

-Encourage open interaction of groups so that new identities can evolve

Each group needs to be self-critical and open to change. This way, different cultural groups can influence and adapt to each other and dialogue between cultural groups can be mutually beneficial. This will lead to the development of a cohesive society

Therefore, social scientists argue that open communication between cultural groups is an essential component of long-term peaceful relationships in New Zealand"

Appendix B. Two screenshots, and the audio, from the interculturalism video prime created for the study. Video content was based on text from earlier work (Verkuyten et al., 2018)



Dialogue for Multiculturalism Prime Video:

"Social scientists agree that building positive relationships between different ethnic groups is a major priority for New Zealand. Social Scientists all agree that a key strategy to managing interethnic relations is through multiculturalism

To allow for peaceful relationships between diverse groups in our country, multiculturalism recommends that we:

- Acknowledge and celebrate cultural diversity by recognising it as an asset to our society

- Acknowledge the unique identify of every group and also the unique contribution they bring to New Zealand

- Allow distinct cultural groups to maintain their cultural heritage and identity, while participating in a fair and equitable way within society

- Acknowledge the importance of each cultural group's contributions to the diversity of the nation

- Respect and support the traditional differences between cultural groups

- Allow each cultural group to do well in their talents and to be aware of their unique cultural

- Recognise and appreciate different ways of doing things

- Encourage all groups to continue to practise their cultural traditions

Each group needs to be able to maintain and celebrate its own heritage culture, this way the value of cultural diversity for a cohesive and successful society can continue to exist.

Therefore, social scientists argue that understanding and celebrating cultural differences among ethnic groups is an essential component of long-term peaceful relationships in New Zealand"

Appendix C. Demographics Questionnaire

In this section of the study, we would like to ask a few background questions about you.

Are you male or female? □ Male □ Female □ Other

How old are you? _____

Were you born in New Zealand? □ Yes □ No

Nationality/Citizenship? _____

Ethnicity (check all that apply):
a. Maori
b. European
c. Asian
d. Pacific Islander
e. Indian
f. Middle Eastern
g. African
h. North American
i. South American
j. Other (please specify)

What level of education have you reached?

University education 1st Year Undergrad;
University education 2nd Year Undergrad;
University education 3rd Year Undergrad;
University education 4th Year Undergrad;
University education Post-grad;
Other (please specify your level of education)_____

What is your college major/area of specialisation?

Appendix D. Dependent Measures (1)

Outgroup Attitudes (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Ho & Jackson, 2001; Converse & Presser, 1986)

How do you **feel** about Asians as a group? I feel…

1…..……..2……...3……..4……..5……...6……..7
Very negative Neutral Very Positive

1…..……..2……...3……..4……..5……...6……..7
Very Unpleasant Neutral Very Pleasant

1…..……..2……...3……..4……..5……...6……..7
Very Unlikeable Neutral Very Likeable

Appendix E. Dependent Measures (2)

Willingness to Engage in Intergroup Contact (Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006)

On a scale of 1(Not at all willing) to 7 (Extremely willing), please indicate the extent to which you are willing or unwilling to do the following, using the scale below.

1. Marry someone of Asian descent.
2. Accept an Asian as a family member through marriage.
3. Have an Asian person as a close friend.
4. Accept an Asian person as a co-worker.
5. Have an Asian person visit your home.
6. Attend a cultural event sponsored by an Asian organization.

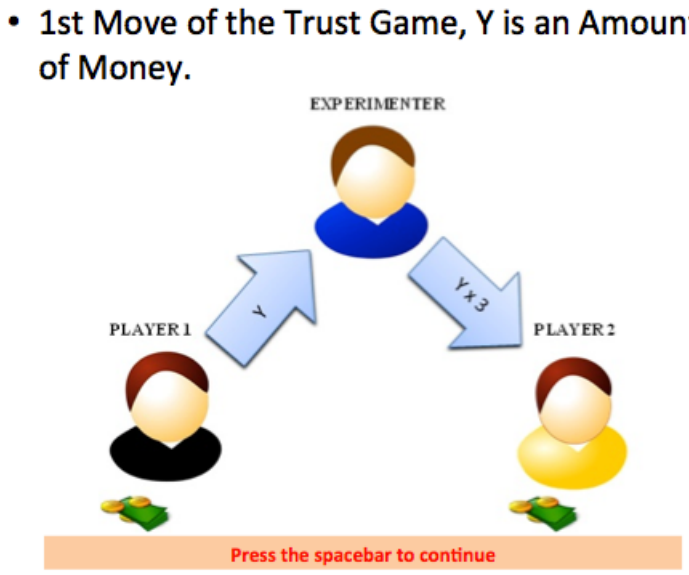
Appendix F. Dependent Measures (3)

IAT Words for Implicit Attitudes Measure (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998)

Good Words
Kindness
Gift
Love
Sunshine
Beauty
Glory

Bad Words
Sickness
Pain
Hate
Filth
Ugly
Poison

Appendix G. A screen-shot from the computerised Trust Game made for this experiment, indicating instructions on how to play the computer game.



Appendix H. A screen-shot from the computerised Trust Game made for this experiment, indicating the participant choice options to send a monitary amount to